

# THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

808

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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## ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO THE FRIENDS OF THE SLAVE IN THOSE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE THAT POSSESS SLAVE COLONIES.

In addressing to you some considerations on the subjects of slavery and the slave-trade, and on the great importance of taking such steps as may be most likely to promote the early and entire termination of those great evils, an apology on our part will not, we hope, be deemed necessary. Although resident in a foreign country, we cannot feel indifferent to the continuance of those cruelties and crimes in other lands which once existed in many of the dependencies of the British crown. Whilst we rejoice in what has been accomplished for more than seven hundred and fifty thousand of our fellow-subjects who have for some years past been placed in the enjoyment of freedom, we turn with deep sorrow to the consideration that there yet remain nearly or quite one million of our fellow men subjected to an inhuman and degrading bondage in various European colonies, besides a number little short of six millions in the United States of America and Brazil. We mourn, too, the fact, that, in order to supply the waste of human life, and to satisfy the cupidity of the slave-holder, in two West India islands belonging to Spain and in the empire of Brazil, the African slave-trade is yet carried on to a vast extent. We might also advert to a slave-trade of great magnitude and revolting character, which exists between the Southern States of the North American Union.

The African slave-trade has been declared illegal by every country professing Christianity in Europe and America; but the extent to which a slave-trade, either external or internal, is prosecuted in the principal slave-holding regions of the world, proves the great difficulty, if not the utter impracticability, of terminating the traffic in human beings so long as man can be held as property.

We would, however, appeal to the free citizens of those nations which have abolished the slave-trade, whether it is less a duty to release from a hopeless and cruel bondage the victims of that trade and their descendants, than to cease from its future prosecution. The slave-trade, by which the present generation of slaves or their ancestors were reduced to slavery, is the immoral title-deed on which the claim of the slaveholder to treat his fellow man as a chattel is founded.

But slavery is no less unjustifiable in principle and in practice than in its origin. Futile must be every apology for a system which deprives man of that freedom of action which is his inherent right, until it has been forfeited by crime; which denies to the labourer the fair reward of his toil, and substitutes the brutal stimulus of coercion; and which consigns the happiness, the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, of its victims, to men who are not only liable to all the infirmities, the passions, and the crimes of human nature, but who are in general more vitiated than their fellows, by the demoralizing influence of the system they administer.

In proof of the dreadful consequences of slavery wherever it is found, we might point to the large amount of labour exacted from the slave, frequently by night as well as during the day; the scantiness of his diet; the insufficiency of his clothing, either for use or decency; the frequency and severity of his punishments; the almost entire neglect of his education; the shameful disregard of his morals; and the few instances in which his highest interests are properly considered. We might refer to the statistics of slavery, so far as they are known, as indisputable evidence of its baneful results on human life and on morals. If we turn to the register of births and deaths in a slave population, the proportion of the former will be seen to be much fewer, and that of the deaths much more numerous, than in free countries. The most favourable result in the European slave colonies exhibits the slave population as nearly stationary, whilst in some of these colonies, especially those which possess the greatest fertility of soil, there is a large excess of deaths over births. Where the number of marriages amongst slaves is recorded, the painful fact is revealed that few of this class enter into the marriage state; the joint effect of a neglect of moral training, of the insecurity of domestic ties, and of the baneful example of the free portion of the community in slave countries.

Attempts have been made at different periods and by different governments, to mitigate the dreadful evils of slavery, without abolishing it. This was done during a series of years in the British colonies, and subsequently in the colonies of France. The result has been in all cases the same—that they have almost entirely failed, owing to the determined opposition which the slaveholder has always offered to such efforts, whether they related to an increase of the physical comforts of the bondsman, to the diminution of his sufferings, or to his intellectual, moral, and religious improvement. The English apprenticeship, which in its provisions appeared to offer better guarantees for the protection of the semi-bondsman than any code of slavery with which we are acquainted, utterly

failed of securing those advantages which it promised. Reason and experience alike demonstrate, that no measure short of perfect freedom and equal laws can enable man to protect himself against oppression, and to secure his just interests.

We contend for the entire liberty of the slave, because it is his right, no less than that of his master, and because it is indispensable to the welfare of him who has far too long been unjustly and cruelly deprived of that precious privilege. There can now be no pretence that such a measure would be unsafe. This is disproved by the peaceful results of emancipation in the British colonies, which have been thus acknowledged by the French Royal Commission, presided over by the Duke de Broglie:—

"For eight years past, that is to say, in order to be exact, from the 1st of August, 1834, emancipation has been proclaimed in the slave colonies of Great Britain. These colonies are nineteen in number. They contain about eight hundred thousand negroes, whilst France only possesses four slave colonies, which do not contain more than about two hundred and fifty thousand negroes. They are dispersed in the Caribbean Sea, the southern extremity of Africa, and at the entrance of the Indian Ocean. Their origin is very different. Some were founded by the British government itself; others were successively obtained by conquest from France, Spain, and Holland. All are still strongly marked by the manners and the habits of their founders and by the laws of the country to which they first belonged. Twelve are self-governed, to a certain extent, by legislatures of their own; seven are more immediately under the government of the Crown. Under the influence of various climates, and of social and political circumstances so different, emancipation took place everywhere in 1834, and has continued since that time, peacefully and without violence. It may be said, without fear of contradiction, that an event so formidable at first sight as the summons of 800,000 slaves to liberty, on the same day, at the same hour, has not caused, in eight years, in all the English colonies, the tenth part of the troubles that are ordinarily caused amongst the most civilized nations of Europe, by the least political question that agitates, however little, the public mind."—*Rapport fait au Ministre Secrétaire d'état de la Marine et des Colonies.*

It is conceded by all impartial persons acquainted with the results of emancipation in the British colonies, that that great measure has been attended with the most beneficial results upon the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious condition of the enfranchised population. Similar beneficial results may be reasonably anticipated from the adoption of the same righteous conduct in other countries, but varying in degree, according to the pains that shall be taken to promote the moral and religious welfare of those who shall be set free—pains which are almost fruitless so long as slavery prevails, but which may be expected to produce the most salutary effects wherever liberty is enjoyed.

The principal objections that have been recently advanced against the immediate and entire abolition of slavery, are the anticipated decrease of tropical productions from such a measure, and the cost of that compensation which it is thought by many should be given to the slaveholder.

In reference to the decrease of production we may remark that this is likely to be only temporary, where it takes place. It may be regarded as a consequence to arise principally from a discontinuance of that excessive labour, without distinction of sex, by which slave populations in all sugar colonies are either kept nearly stationary, or are actually reduced in number. The large exports from the British colonies during the period of slavery, and the semi-slavery of the apprenticeship, were procured not only at a dreadful cost of human life and suffering, but at the expense of the future welfare of colonies thus long deprived of a natural increase in the labouring population. This continues to be the case in the slave colonies of other countries at the present time. It may be reasonably expected that in those colonies in which slavery has already been, or shall be hereafter abolished, the same result which takes place in other free countries will be experienced, and that a larger number of labourers will shortly prove more than a compensation for a few years of diminished exports, arising from a needful reduction in the hours of labour and the partial change of employment incident to freedom. Thus we think it is shown that a present reduction in colonial exports, should it take place as a consequence of freedom, ought not to be regarded as a real loss to the colonial proprietor, whilst it will greatly promote the welfare of the labourer.

On the subject of compensation it may be safely asserted that a large part, if not the whole, of the value now set upon the slave will be added to that of the land, where the labour of the enfranchised slave is secured by just and kind treatment. Such has been the case very extensively in the British colonies. Should it, however, be otherwise, we contend that this is no sufficient reason for withholding from the slave that freedom which is his due. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," is a rule which we are bound faithfully to apply in our efforts for the abolition of slavery, as well as in relation to all social duties. Were we, and those that are dearest to us, groaning under the yoke of

bondage, would it not be our reasonable desire that earnest efforts should be used, and that without delay, to free us from so degrading and cruel a condition? Neither do we think that a proper consideration for the slaveholder will in any degree lessen our efforts. We desire only to take from him that which he cannot rightfully possess—a property which he can hold only at the expense of supporting a fearful system of iniquity, and which has proved, with few exceptions, as ruinous as it is wicked.

In conclusion, we beseech all whom we address to endeavour to obtain as full information as is practicable of the extent and circumstances of slavery in the colonies of their country, in order to form a just estimate of the great importance of its abolition. Such a knowledge will also enable them more effectually to advocate the cause of the slave, whether in private society, in public assemblies, or by the press. We deem it of great importance that information respecting an evil which exists at a great distance should be generally spread amongst the free inhabitants of countries implicated in the maintenance of slavery, and that thereby a just public sentiment should be created. The existence of such a sentiment is in itself calculated to hasten the downfall of a vicious system, by the influence which it must exercise upon the conduct of those in authority. It may also be expected that some, and we hope not a few, among the persons whose attention may be called to the injustice of slavery, will exercise the right, where it is possessed, of petitioning for its abolition; whilst others who occupy a seat in the Legislature, or who are members of the Government, may be induced to advocate, or to recommend, that object in their respective places. We would further respectfully, but earnestly, recommend that especial pains should be taken by the friends of the slave, on every occasion of the meeting of legislative bodies, to have the abolition of slavery brought under their notice by suitable motions, by addresses to the Crown, or in any other way that may be deemed eligible. It was by the adoption of such means as those to which we have referred that the freedom of the slaves in the British colonies was effected, notwithstanding the most formidable opposition by colonial proprietors, and by those who undertook the defense of their supposed interests. It is our cheering belief that similar measures will be successful wherever they are resorted to, in removing from each of those countries in which it exists the guilt and reproach of slavery; whilst every instance of national emancipation will, by the powerful influence of example, hasten the universal triumph of freedom, and therewith the abolition of the slave-trade.

#### AFRICAN EMIGRATION TO THE EMANCIPATED COLONIES.

On the 26th of June, 1839, the governor of British Guiana forwarded to the then Secretary of State, Lord Normanby, an ordinance to regulate immigration into that colony. Its object was to procure labourers from British India, the Bahama Islands, and the Western coast of Africa. In the despatch which accompanied it the Governor states that another ordinance for raising a loan of 400,000*l.* for similar purposes had been submitted to the Court of Policy, in conformity with the wishes of the Combined Court, but that he had effectually resisted its passage, because he was "satisfied of the impolicy of burthening the colony with a debt for forty years, subject to a vote of the Combined Court for the mode of taxing the colony to pay the interest." Not content with giving this opinion, he added, "No debt ought to be contracted which should anticipate revenue, and which would probably place the colony at the command of merchants in England, from whose thrall-dom the compensation money has enabled the great body of the proprietors to escape." The immigration ordinance was disallowed by her Majesty in council on the following grounds, as stated in the despatch of Lord Normanby to Governor Light, dated 15th August, 1839:—First, because it was not considered "wise or just to appropriate the public revenue in aid of this service." The case is thus put by the noble Lord,—"If," says he, "the capitalists are anxious to enlarge their agricultural and manufacturing operations, it seems reasonable that the expense should be borne by themselves, and that the funds to which every member of society is a contributor, should not, for this purpose, be directed from their more legitimate destination." Secondly, because it was "proposed that the Governor should appoint emigration agents at Calcutta, at the Bahamas, in Africa, and any other place where a Mixed Commission may be established under the treaties for the abolition of the slave-trade." To each of the places selected there were grave objections. "With regard to the introduction of labourers from India," Lord Normanby observed, "more than enough has already passed to render her Majesty's Government decidedly hostile to every such project;" and, he added, "we are not less opposed to the plan of recruiting the negro population of the West Indies from Africa;" and for this reason, "no precautions which have been, or which could be devised, would prevent such a measure from giving a stimulus to the internal slave-trade on that continent, or from bringing discredit on the sincerity of the efforts made by this nation for the suppression of that system of guilt and misery." As to the Bahamas, the Government could not consent to their depopulation by emigration on grounds of state policy. Thirdly, because the ordinance provided "that only one of every three emigrants must be a female," whilst to the Government it appeared "indispensable, if any bounties are paid, that there should be an equal number of each sex." And, fourthly, because no "provision is made to secure to the emigrants, on their arrival, a proper

reception, or to determine in what manner they shall be settled amongst the different candidates for their services."

Such were the principal reasons which induced the Government, in 1839, to resist the Immigration scheme of British Guiana, and to throw the planters on their own resources for the supply of additional labour. As may be supposed, great excitement was occasioned by the despatch of the Colonial Minister. The Governor took alarm, and feared that difficulty would exist when the Civil-list bill should require to be re-enacted. Minutes, memorials, and petitions were sent home, and Lord John Russell, who succeeded Lord Normanby in the Colonial Office, condescended to reason the subject with the colonists. The whole of the noble Lord's despatch, dated 15th February, 1840, to Governor Light, is worthy of perusal; we, however, can only present our readers a few extracts from it. On the subject of Coolie immigration, he said, "I confess I should be unwilling to adopt any measure to favour the transfer of labourers from British India to Guiana, after the failure of the former experiment," alluding to the fatal results of the Gladstone scheme; and, as a wise and humane man, added, "I am not prepared to encounter the responsibility of a measure which may lead to a dreadful loss of life on the one hand, or on the other, to a new system of slavery." But, in reference to African immigration, the noble Lord said, that whilst he did not "anticipate much benefit from such importation," confining it exclusively to "the negroes captured by our cruisers in slave-ships," he was not "determined to exclude this source of supply." At the same time he justly remarked, that, should "any large addition be made to our rich colonies from this source, our whole policy in putting down the slave-trade would be exposed to suspicion, and we should, not improbably, be told, that we were indirectly recruiting our own possessions with compulsory labour, by the very means which we employed to suppress the traffic of other nations."

To show how little was likely to be gained by the introduction of Asiatic labourers, the noble Lord observed—"When you should have removed to Guiana a large number of labourers, they are still to be free labourers; the soil is fertile, the climate invites to indolence. The Asian race love ease and enjoyment, at least as much as any other; you have still no certainty for your sugar crop. In the meantime, it is a mere calculation to the capitalist what sugar will cost him to raise in Hindostan to bring to England, and to clear of duty; and whether, all this done, he can compete successfully with the Demerara planter. If he can, the sugar business will rise in Bengal, and the Coolie remain at home; the plantation will be found for the labourer, and not the labourer go to the plantation." In concluding his despatch, his lordship says, "But in whatever degree I might be disposed to yield to the representations of the merchants and proprietors, whether in this country or the colonies, I must enjoin upon you to bear in mind, that the happiness of the inhabitants of the colony you are appointed to govern is the chief object." \*\*\* "The Queen, whose commands I convey to you, looks for her reward in the faithful attachment of a million of Her people, whom it has been Her care to render worthy of the boon which it was the happiness of Her predecessor to be enabled to grant, by the liberal assistance of His parliament, and amid the joy of His subjects."

The draft of an ordinance was transmitted to Governor Light, by the same mail which conveyed this despatch, allowing immigration into British Guiana, *on bounties*, to be paid out of the colonial funds; that is to say, out of any *surplus revenue* that might exist after the payment of the ordinary expenses connected with the local government, provided that no emigration agent should be appointed "at any port or place within the limits of the East India Company's Charter;" and that no such agent should be appointed, without the previous consent of one of the Secretaries of State, "at any port or place on the Western or Eastern Continent, or at the island of Madagascar, or at any other island adjacent to the said coasts of the said Continent, and inhabited by the Negro race; and that the number of female emigrants above fourteen years of age, embarked on board any vessel for British Guiana, shall be equal to the number of male emigrants above fourteen years of age, embarked in the same vessel."

Thus began the first step in the wrong direction, namely, the application of the public funds to that which should ever have been regarded as a matter of personal interest and private speculation. Had not the noble Lord given way on this point, whatever immigration there might have been to any of the colonies, the funds would have been found by the individuals likely to have been benefited thereby. We have a striking exemplification of this in the fact, that as soon as Lord Normanby's despatch became known in Guiana, a voluntary subscription emigration society was formed, whose operations are fully set forth in the parliamentary papers; but, of course, as soon as the planters knew they might finger the public money to promote their interests, they no longer levied contributions on themselves, nor cared who bore the expense of immigration, so long as they were permitted to enjoy its fruits.

In March, 1840, Governor Doherty, of Sierra Leone, having intimated that some of the settlers in that colony, Maroons and others, were desirous of emigrating to the West Indian colonies, Lord John Russell communicated the information to Governor Light, among others. In reply, he stated, that he "should view with jealousy any commencement of emigration from Sierra Leone, except under the control of her Majesty's Government," inasmuch as "if once their (the planters' agents) are admitted to the coast of Africa, the cupidity of the captains of vessels sent to receive volunteers for a freight, would most undoubtedly be tempted to fraudu-

lent practice ;" and he added, " If, hereafter, emigrants should be obtained from Sierra Leone, the proportion should be at least one able-bodied person in three ; they should on no account come without their wives and families."

In January, 1841, an immigration ordinance, founded upon a draft-ordinance forwarded by Lord John Russell, was enacted. It differed, however, in several essential respects from the model, but was principally remarkable for its omission of the provision requiring that an equal number of sexes should be introduced. How it escaped, if, indeed, it did escape the vigilant eye of the noble lord, is marvellous ; yet, though the ordinance was rigidly scrutinized, so far as it invaded the rights of the Crown, and the necessary amendments proposed, not a word was said, either by Governor or Colonial Secretary, in relation to the important omission referred to. The effect of this measure was to open, with the consent of the Home Government, the British settlements on the coast of Africa, to the planters of Guiana. An agent was appointed, at a salary of 400/- per annum, to reside at Sierra Leone, to superintend the emigration thence ; and the boon that was conceded to British Guiana, was also allowed to Jamaica and Trinidad.

In consulting the instructions forwarded by Lord John Russell to the Governor of Sierra Leone, the late lamented Mr. John Jeremie, we find him thus express himself :—" I am entirely opposed to any plan for taking the liberated Africans to the West Indies, against their will ; but," and we beg our readers to mark this, " but, on the other hand, I consider that we are not bound to maintain, in the colony of Sierra Leone, all the captured negroes who are sent thither ; and that Africans landed there in future should, at the expiration of three months, be bound—1st., To show that they are in a state to maintain themselves on the spot ; or, 2ndly, to signify their consent to emigrate to the West Indies ; or, 3rdly, to leave the colony." We confess, that when we first read this, we were shocked at what we conceived to be its inhumanity. Considering the purpose for which Sierra Leone was established, the miserable condition in which captured Africans usually arrived in the colony, the youthful age of a large number of them, and their perfectly friendless position, it did appear to us inhuman to present to them the alternatives of emigration to the West Indies, or expulsion from the colony, if, within three months after their arrival there, they were unable, either from youth, incapacity, illness, or other causes, to maintain themselves. Besides clothing, cooking utensils, and implements of husbandry, the rations allowed the captured Africans, until they were fairly able to support themselves, say, from six to twelve months, was threepence per day, for adults, and half that sum for children.

We will not stay to inquire whether the Government legally possessed the power of expulsion, under the circumstances indicated ; but we will ask, how could there be " free emigration," under such regulation ? The alternatives presented by the noble Lord were, exposure to re-capture by the slave-traders who infest the whole country round Sierra Leone, or transportation to the British colonies. How could there be freedom of action here ?

On another and most important point the noble lord writes as follows :—" You will perceive that I have omitted to lay down any rule as to the proportion of females who may accompany the male emigrants. Undoubtedly it would be desirable that the number of the former should equal the number of the latter : but it is obvious that the adoption of such a rule would have the effect of restricting emigration within limits so narrow, as to amount to a total prohibition." Here then we find another step taken in the wrong direction—the noble lord having given up what had been previously and pertinaciously insisted on, an equal number of the sexes. Had there been few or none of the female sex at Sierra Leone, that might have been a reason for the noble lord abandoning his original ground, or, at all events, of modifying it according to circumstances. But what is the fact ? By a return of the General-Superintendent of the liberated African, there were in the colony on the 31st Dec., 1842—20,846 males, and 17,099 females, or five females to every six males.

The evils connected with the incomplete instructions given by the noble lord, to regulate African emigration, soon began to manifest themselves ; and with a view to put a stop to them the Lieutenant-Governor of Sierra Leone in council framed an act, on the 28th Dec., 1841, supplemental to the one previously transmitted to Mr. John Jeremie, by the Home Government. In introducing this act to the attention of Lord Stanley, who succeeded Lord John Russell as colonial minister, he speaks of " practices of a most nefarious character, which certain of the emigration agents, in their anxiety to obtain candidates, had so far forgotten themselves as to have resorted to, but which were detected and remedied by Mr. Jeremie, the Government agent for emigration." The evils guarded against in the supplemental act were the following, viz. :—that no ship should depart without having on board a proportion of adult females amounting to not less than one-third part of the whole number of adult emigrants embarked—that no ship should take away any children, or persons under age, without the sanction, in writing, of their parents or guardians—that no liberated African shall be removed from his village without a written notice being given to the manager of the district, at least ten days previous to such removal—that no person should leave the colony as an emigrant without having resided for a period of at least six weeks therein—that no ship shall leave with emigrants without its being certified by an authorized officer that the provisions on board are sufficient for the voyage—and that all attempts to delude the emigrants shall be punishable by a fine of not less than ten, nor more

than twenty pounds. Amendments were suggested by Lord Stanley, which did not, however, materially affect the protective part of the Act.

In legislating anew upon the subject, Governor Macdonald, who succeeded Mr. Fergusson, omitted the clause requiring that at least one-third of the adult emigrants should be females. On this point Lord Stanley thus wrote to him on March 31st, 1843 :—" It appears from the minutes, that, on the representation of the West India emigration agents, and of Mr. Jeremie, the Government agent, the Council assented to the abolition of the clause which requires that the proportion of female emigrants shall not be less than one-third of the number embarked. Her Majesty's Government have never sanctioned any Immigration Act which did not provide that one-third, at least, of the immigrants should be females ; and they are not prepared to authorize any deviation from this regulation." In a subsequent despatch, dated 25th May, 1843, the noble lord again adverts to this subject, he says, " I observe that by the present act, all restrictions on the proportions of the emigrants are withdrawn. The former Act required that at least one-third of the adult emigrants should be females, except in the case of Kroomen, and *I consider that provision to be indispensable.*" It would thus appear that something, at least, was gained by the accession of the noble lord to office. But this, we regret to say, has not been the case, as the sequel will abundantly show.

In the month of February, the noble lord, in conjunction with the leading West India merchants, had concocted a grand scheme of emigration from Africa, to be carried on under the exclusive control of the Government. Emigrants were not only to be allowed to be taken from Sierra Leone, but from Boa Vista and Loando, where the Government had recently, in conjunction with Portugal, established mixed commission courts. The emigrants were to be collected by the agents of the colonies as heretofore, who were to be superintended by another agent appointed by Government. On their arrival in the colonies, they were to be received by the Government immigration agent, and would be entitled to a free passage back at the expiration of five years' service. In the first instance, the emigration was to be limited to Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana, but ultimately extended to the whole of the West India colonies requiring labourers.

Of course, the noble lord anticipated a large supply of labourers by this means for the colonies, but it has not fully answered his expectations, and, therefore, other measures than those originally contemplated have been resorted to, to quicken emigration from Sierra Leone, and to lessen the heavy expense connected with it as lately carried on. The noble lord, therefore, in a despatch to governor Macdonald, dated 5th June, 1843, prepares him for great changes. The first point dwelt upon by the noble lord, is " the great advantages which Her Majesty's Government anticipate as likely to accrue to the population of Sierra Leone from quitting their present home to seek employment, and its attendant benefits, in the West Indies." This is dwelt upon at large. Then it is assumed that the liberated Africans in the colony " have arrived at a stage of civilization qualifying them for the management of their own affairs without further tutelage," and, therefore, the establishments which have been kept up for their benefit, are less necessary than heretofore. Various officers connected with the liberated African department are to be forthwith discharged, and the collector of customs in future is " to take charge, under the direction of the Governor, of such Africans as may be landed at that station, and to attend to their distribution and location, observing that any requisite supplies of provisions or clothing, or any expenditure for the Africans, will continue to be provided and defrayed as at present by the commissariat, and that their medical treatment will be also attended to by the colonial medical officers." The next step of the noble lord was, to reduce " the period of residence in the colony, prior to emigration, from six to four weeks." This was done in December, 1843. Still even this was not deemed sufficient, for we find in a despatch to governor Macdonald, dated 10th February, 1844, the following extraordinary passage :—" Since the introduction of the Government scheme of emigration, the captured Africans landed at Sierra Leone have the option of being forthwith provided with the means of removing to places where they may find immediate employment, and be enabled fully to maintain themselves ; and they should be apprised, therefore, that in case they should prefer to remain in the colony, *they must provide entirely for themselves ; all issues or allowances to them should be discontinued, except their clothing and maintenance whilst under adjudication, and until they are enabled to embark for the colonies,* the proper medical treatment of such as are landed in sickness being still continued." The acting governor has issued a proclamation to this effect, and now starvation or transportation is the order of the day at Sierra Leone. One only point remained to be conceded to the West Indians, and that was, that no proportion of females should be required to be embarked as emigrants for the colonies, and that, too, has been granted by Lord Stanley. Thus, step by step, the Government have given way on a subject of vital importance. Every restriction has been removed that was deemed necessary for the protection and welfare of the native African, and the Creole labourer, or which tended to the real and permanent prosperity of the emancipated colonies. Taking advantage of the concessions which have been made, the colonial legislatures, representing the planting interest, almost exclusively, are appropriating the public funds to immigration with a want of consideration and recklessness likely to prove ruinous.

**A**T the ANNUAL MEETING of the BIRMINGHAM BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, held at Cannon-street Chapel, Oct. 15th, 1844. THOMAS WESTON, Esq., Mayor, in the Chair. After reading the Annual Report and Cash Account, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Moved by the Rev. THOMAS MORGAN, seconded by the Rev. T. SWAN.—

1.—That the Report and Cash Accounts now read be received and adopted by this meeting, and that the same be printed for circulation under the direction of the Committee, and that the following be the Officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

Moved by the Rev. G. DAWSON, M.A., seconded by JOHN SCOBLE, Esq., of London—

2.—That this meeting, being fully convinced that the only certain means of abolishing the Slave Trade will be found in the Abolition of Slavery itself, deprecate the employment of armed cruisers, the utter inexpediency of which long experience has abundantly proved.

Moved by JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., seconded by the Rev. JONATHAN HOOPER—

3.—That this meeting feel it to be their duty earnestly to protest against the scheme of emigration of Chinese Coolies and Africans to the British emancipated colonies, as proposed to be carried on under the sanction of the British Government, and call upon the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause to oppose it by every legitimate means in their power.

THOMAS WESTON, Chairman.

Moved by Mr. JOHN SCOBLE, seconded by Mr. J. C. WOODHILL—

4.—That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Mayor for his kindness in presiding, and to the Officers of this Chapel for the loan of this place of meeting.

THOMAS MORGAN, Chairman.

#### NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

#### The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 13, 1844.

Most gratifying intelligence has reached us from Sweden. We record with pleasure and with hope, the movement made in the Diet of that country in 1841, when an address to the King was voted, praying for the abolition of slavery in the island of St. Bartholomew's. We now learn with high satisfaction, that King Oscar has returned an answer to this address, altogether concurring in its prayer. But the fact shall be presented to our readers in the words of the valued correspondent from whom we have received it:—

Extract from a letter to George William Alexander, from Edward B. Hale Lewin, dated Stockholm, 29th Oct., 1844.—“ You will, I am sure, feel interested in the purport of a recent communication from King Oscar I. to the States of Sweden, now assembled, on the subject of slavery in the island of St. Bartholomew. The following is a literal translation of the paper in question. ‘ On receipt of the address from the States of 30th April, 1841,\* requesting that his Majesty will cause inquiry to be instituted as to the manner in which slavery may be abolished in the island of St. Bartholomew, and likewise adopt such measures as may be found necessary for the accomplishment of that object, his Majesty required a report to be furnished by the governor of the said island. From this report, while it appears that the condition of the slaves in the island has been materially ameliorated, his Majesty finds nevertheless more than sufficient reason to participate in the wishes of the States for the early discontinuance of slavery. The number of slaves in the island, amounting in 1842 to 595, is now reduced to 532. For the liberation of these the King has not been able to discover any other means consistent with fairness and justice than that of redeeming them from their owners, for which, should the liberation take place immediately and all at once, the sum of 97,320 Spanish piasters, or about 250,000 rix-dollars banco, would be required. But if the slaves were to be ransomed by degrees, and as successive opportunities occurred for the purchase of slaves at a reduced price, the sum necessary might perhaps be limited to about 50,000 Spanish piasters, and be distributed over a period of five years. In the event of the island being ceded to any foreign power before the emancipation of the slaves shall have thus been effected, the necessity for a grant of funds for this purpose will be diminished, or cease altogether, according to the terms upon which the cession shall have been agreed upon.’ You will perceive by the last sentence that there is a project on foot for disposing of the island, which has, I believe, for many years, been a source of debt and annoyance to the Swedish government.”

We tender our sincere acknowledgments to the King of Sweden for this communication. He is the first of the sovereigns of Europe, since the act of British emancipation, to render such public homage to the great principles of humanity and justice; and he has set an example well worthy of being imitated by other potentates. We trust it will be speedily followed. In the measures which may be adopted in Sweden for carrying out the King's suggestion of equity to the planters, we hope it will be recollect that the first and paramount consideration is equity to the slave. The latter part of

\* The address of which you are aware the brothers Goijer were the joint originators.

the message, however, gives strength to a rumour which has obtained considerable currency, namely, that negotiations are on foot for the transfer of St. Bartholomew's to the sovereignty of another power. The decrease in the population of the island, we should think, must have arisen from deportation, which, however, we suppose to be illegal.

THE letter of Marshal Bugeaud on the subject of slavery in Algeria will be found in our paper of this day, together with some effective remarks in reply by the editor of the *Annales de l'Institut d'Afrique*. The Marshal's letter is valuable in our view, chiefly because, by implication, it admits the fact that both slavery and the slave-trade exist in Algeria *under the sanction of the French Government*. As a fact this may be regarded as at length established beyond question. It now stands broadly before the world, that, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and in the midst of movements tending to the abolition of slavery throughout the world, France, one of the most enlightened nations of the earth, has added another to her slave colonies; and that, having subjugated and added to her empire, on the plea of extending the benefits of civilization, a vast region in which slavery and the slave-trade exist, she has not the resolution to put an end to these atrocious crimes! What the Bey of Tunis has done, France dare not attempt! Among the first of the nations, she stands rebuked by her comparatively insignificant neighbour, whom she proudly styles a barbarian! Will Frenchmen, so sensitive to the honour of their country, exhibit no sensibility to this disgrace?

THE information brought by the last mail from British Guiana affords a signal illustration of the obstinacy with which the oppressive and infatuated course of the planters is pursued. In the first instance, the Combined Court passed the Immigration Loan and Civil List ordinances in a manner so hurried, that Lord Stanley found it his duty to administer a pointed rebuke, and to enjoin a mode of legislation which should allow an opportunity for the wishes of the inhabitants at large to express themselves. If there had been the smallest measure of fairness in the members of the Combined Court, this injunction would have been complied with in a manner setting future complaint at defiance. Instead of this, however, it has been not even seemingly complied with, but glaringly set at naught, and a second act of the farce of legislation enacted with a degree of studied art and audacity altogether astounding. Let the facts of the case be taken as they are stated in the *Congregational Record*.

“ All are now aware of the Governor's notorious prohibitory notice against the admission of memorials to the Home Government that may not be in his Excellency's hands forty-eight hours before the closing of the European mails.

“ Hundreds of people, aware that their local rulers, without condescending to wait a moment for the people's opinion on the matter, had unceremoniously appropriated 75,000*l.* of their money, beyond the power of recall, exactly twenty-four hours after the community had become aware of the demand; and, conceiving it of no manner of use to petition the court, united in a memorial to Lord Stanley, which, it is hoped, reached his Excellency time enough to escape the expelling notice, by the last mail.

“ This done, we had a right to expect that ‘ due deliberation,’ and time for ‘ the people's opinion,’ would precede any legislative decision on the Loan and Civil List Bills, returned with merited rebuke by his lordship, for revision. Judge, then, of our utter amazement, when the despatches from Lord Stanley concerning the said bills requiring ‘ due deliberation and the expression of public sentiment,’ which, if not privately committed to the secret conclave, had been kept quiet in the Governor's apartments, were unexpectedly brought for the first time before the legislative body, scarcely forty-eight hours before the mails were to be closed! And, within the proscribed period, the returned bills for the 500,000*l.* loan, and for the prolongation of the Civil List were introduced, read a first, second, and third time, and re-enacted,—all being completed just four hours before the mails were made up!

“ Only bear in mind, first, that the entire community were fully expecting that the Governor would take care that ample opportunity should be given for the expression of public opinion, after he should make public Lord Stanley's despatches on the bills. Secondly, that you must journey seventy miles or more by sea, to reach New Amsterdam, the capital of Berbice county; and still further to the coast of Essequibo county; and that in Georgetown, the place of legislation for the whole province, the inhabitants generally were ignorant of these unexpected proceedings of the legislative hall, the particulars of which could not be learned but through the newspapers, after the mail had left. And, thirdly, that the standing rules of the court had been suspended, in so far as was necessary to complete their designs.

“ And then, gentle reader, can you, by any possibility, be prepared for the provoking coolness of the Attorney-General when in court he said, ‘ May I be permitted to ask, is there any petition from the inhabitants against these bills?’ Government secretary.—‘ There is no petition addressed to this court against these bills.’ Mr. Rose.—‘ Is there any petition to the combined court?’ Government secretary.—‘ None addressed to the combined court.’ The court adjourned.

“ On the following day, while the court was sitting, Mr. Rose inquired, ‘ Has any petition or memorial been sent in, addressed to the combined court, against the 75,000*l.* Bill, or the Loan Bill, or the Bill to renew the Civil List?’ Government secretary.—‘ No.’ Mr. Rose.—‘ Be kind enough to put the question and answer on record. I have a particular reason for asking.’

“ No doubt there was a *particular reason*, but we hope the whole proceeding is too apparent to succeed in its objects.”

If there was any honesty in the first rebuke administered by Lord Stanley, the repeated offence, and the obstinacy it evinces, will

surely give occasion to a second and a more severe one. His lordship certainly will not allow himself to be insulted, and the whole Government to be set at defiance in such a manner as this. He has found, ere now, that petitions and remonstrances have come in, although carefully excluded from the despatch-bag of the Governor; and we have reason to know that they are of a character well entitled to weigh with a considerate and enlightened statesman. Besides the memorials which have been forwarded by various channels to the Colonial Office, some important resolutions have been come to by the Committee of the Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society, a meeting of which was convened "at the eleventh hour." They are as follows:—

"At a meeting of committee, convened on Tuesday, the 18th instant,

"It was resolved,

"That this committee views, with serious alarm and distrust, the repeated secret and hasty proceedings of the combined court of British Guiana in passing ordinances for immigration purposes, fraught with alarming consequences to the lately emancipated classes of this colony.

"That, from the observations made in the report of the committee of the combined court in reference to the remonstrance of the friends of the labouring classes, who form the bulk of the community, against their hasty and unconstitutional proceedings, which have not even escaped the rebuke of the Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies; and from the hasty manner in which they have again proceeded in voting away 75,000*l.*, and in the revision of the 500,000*l.* Immigration Loan Bill, and the re-enactment of the Civil List Bill,—this committee conceives that no remonstrance from the oppressed portion of this community would avail with the local legislature, even if there were time allowed them to remonstrate. They can only look to the parent Government, and to their friends in Britain, through whose instrumentality liberty has been granted them, for protection from the severe oppression which these bills, if allowed by her Majesty, would entail on them.

"That the circumstance of his Excellency the Governor having notified that no document for the Honourable the Colonial Secretary will be received by his Excellency for transmission, forty-eight hours previously to the departure of the mail; and the fact of the local legislature having come to a decision respecting the bills only four hours before the time for making up the mail, have prevented a memorial being sent, by and on behalf of the labouring classes, through the Governor. This committee, therefore, earnestly requests the Parent Society again to memorialize his lordship the Colonial Secretary on their behalf against these oppressive proceedings.

"That a copy of these resolutions be forthwith forwarded to the Parent Society, and also to the 'Guiana Congregational Record.'

"GEO. M'FARLANE,  
Secretary Aux. Anti-Slavery Society."

"Sept. 18th, 1844.

It appears, however, that the planters and their clique in British Guiana are desirous, not only of obstructing the transmission to this country of such expressions of public sentiment as may be elicited there, but of preventing the utterance of that sentiment, even through the most ordinary channels. A notice having been issued, convening a public meeting in relation to the obnoxious ordinances at the British School-room, New Amsterdam, Berbice, on the 25th of September, "a white mob, (we quote the words of our correspondent,) consisting of merchants, planters, doctors, magistrates, and officials, is reported to have succeeded in breaking up that meeting, under pretence of being 'taken by surprise.' They would require a month's notice; but at last a fortnight was carried by acclamation, and a committee was appointed to prepare resolutions." The *animus* of this interruption is sufficiently evident in the report of the proceedings furnished by the *Berbice Gazette*. Mr. Nimmo, —a well-known name under the former *regime*—stated that "opposition would be of no avail, as the bills had passed, and were on their way to England;" adding, "It is there the battle must be fought, (cheers,) in the British House of Parliament we must take our stand, (great cheering.)" Mr. King, a magistrate, vented the absurd notion that the meeting was illegal; and the bearing of the whole opposition plainly was, to prevent any expression of public opinion at all. To all this, we trust, the noble Secretary for the Colonies will have his eyes and his ears open. That a very extensive and powerful opposition exists to the oppressive measures on which the planter-clique are bent, must be manifest to him, and we trust he will not be betrayed into a sacrifice of the substantial welfare of the colony for their momentary gratification.

We engage the special attention of our readers to the article on African emigration to the emancipated colonies, inserted in another part of our paper. It will clearly show them how little reliance can be placed on those who administer our colonial affairs. One colonial minister upsets the doctrines and projects of another, and often the same minister is at variance with himself. What matters it that Lord Normanby lays down sound principles for regulating emigration to the colonies, if Lord John Russell reverses them? Lord Normanby says that Africa, as well as India, shall be shut against the planters; Lord John Russell immediately follows him, and says Africa shall be open. Lord Normanby says it is neither just nor wise that the public funds should be appropriated to emigration, but that its expenses should be defrayed by those for whose special benefit it is allowed; Lord John Russell says the public funds may be appropriated to that service. Lord Normanby and Lord John Russell agree, that it is indispensable that one-half of the immigrants who may be imported into the colonies should be women; yet, before Lord John Russell quits the Colonial Office, he leaves that vital point an open question, and differs as much from himself as from his noble colleague and predecessor in office. Lord John Russell, though he will allow the surplus revenue of the colo-

nies to be applied to immigration purposes, demurs to loans; but his successor, Lord Stanley, is not only willing that the surplus shall be so appropriated, but consents that the colonies shall be burthened with enormous debts for the same purpose, for at least a quarter of a century to come. Under Lord Normanby's administration, African emigration was forbidden altogether. Under Lord Stanley's rule, it is intended to be carried on on a grand scale; and, with a view to facilitate the operation, the colonies are to be heavily taxed, all regulations having reference to a due proportion of the sexes are to be rescinded, and the captured Africans placed in such a position as that they must either emigrate, starve, or quit Sierra Leone, and fall into the hands a second time of the merciless slave-dealer.

It is time that this country should know who are the originators of this scheme. They are to be found among the West India merchants, mortgagees, and non-resident proprietors, in this country, and their agents and attorneys in the colonies. The former have the ear of the Government at home; the latter the power of accomplishing their wishes in the colonial legislatures, in which they are the leading men. Governor Light, of Guiana, was not wrong when he stated to Lord John Russell, in 1839, that "the loan," then proposed by the Court of Policy in British Guiana, "would be a job in the hands of a few monied men, who would put at least 30,000*l.* in their pockets, if it were allowed." And yet it is to be allowed by Lord Stanley. Now we venture to predict that, as soon as the mortgagees have given a fictitious value to the estates in which they are interested, they will foreclose their mortgages and throw them into the market for sale; and that the merchants will endeavour to reduce their debts by the same means, or, by freighting their vessels, for the sake of the bounties to be given on emigrants, increase their fortunes out of the resources of the colonies. Who is the great advocate of loans in Guiana? The Hon. Peter Rose, the head of the Colonial bank there. And to whom is the management of the loan to be entrusted in this country? To individuals connected with the same bank, who, out of their immense fortunes, can supply the funds that are wanting. The ultimate and permanent prosperity of the colonies does not enter into their calculations, so much as present gain. And what is true of Guiana will be found equally true of Trinidad and Jamaica. It must not be supposed, however, that all the planters in these colonies are favourable to loans. On the contrary the bulk of them begin to see, that, whilst the Leviathan attorneys and planters will derive the profit (if any) on the importation of labourers, they will have to bear no inconsiderable part of the burden. In British Guiana the Colonial bank party have, without consulting the inhabitants at large on the subject, voted away 75,000*l.* of the public money for the purpose of introducing, between this and March next year, 5,000 Coolies, and enacted a loan ordinance besides for 500,000*l.* Trinidad has also passed an ordinance for raising 200,000*l.* on a loan, and voted away above 35,000*l.* of the Colonial funds for the immediate introduction of 2,500 Coolies. Jamaica is in session for the purpose of raising a sum equal to British Guiana, for the same object, on the recommendation of the Colonial Minister; but doubts are entertained whether the thing will be accomplished, notwithstanding Lord Elgin's late movement to get a house favourable to this and other parts of Lord Stanley's colonial policy. The following extract from the *Jamaica Morning Journal* will show that Coolie emigration is not in such great favour in that colony:—

"It will not be, it has not been, for lack of asking that labour is not cheaper than it is in Jamaica. The fact is, that here, as in every other country, it is the interest of the landholders to procure labour at as cheap a rate as possible, and of the labourers to obtain the highest price that can be had for their services. And no one can find fault reasonably with either for thus acting. Labour, like every other commodity, is worth what it will bring. The landowners have a right to procure it at the cheapest market, and many do so at present. This is the sum and substance of the Government concession, or their scheme of emigration from India. And this brings us back to the other point. Will Coolie labour, with the conditions attached, be cheaper than negro labour in Jamaica? If it will not, then there can be no good in incurring the risks consequent upon the introduction of Coolies into the colony. But we are asked, what are the planters to do—how are they to manage, if, not being able to procure labour at home at a rate they can afford to pay, they are prevented from obtaining it from abroad? We reply they are not prevented from obtaining it from abroad. So far as we can understand this question, it seems that, high as the price of labour is considered to be in the colony, it cannot, in consequence of the cost of bringing the labourers to it and sending them away at the expiration of five years, be procured at a less rate from India; and the conclusion to which all reasonable men are forced is, that it is no use attempting to procure it from thence. But what are the planters to do? This is, without doubt, a most important question, and one which it would appear can only be answered in this way. Limit the quantity of land to be cultivated to the amount of available labour, and endeavour, by the use of machinery and the lower animals, to reduce the demand for manual labour to the lowest possible amount. He is the best manager who, by thus acting, obtains the largest returns from the smallest amount of human labour. It appears, too, that the mode suggested is the only practicable one of reducing the price of labour, and will be found to be the very best description of immigration. Matters have come to that state, that, whether they desire to do so or not, the planters will be forced to substitute cattle and horses, with ploughs, harrows, and such other instruments as may be invented, for men, women, and hoes. The estates which will not permit of this change must be thrown up, and the sooner this is done the better for all parties. \* \* \* \* It seems self-evident that, where labour is scarce and dear, the most effectual mode of economizing is to lessen, by every available means, the demand for it.

This can be done in the way we have hinted, and, if the proprietors in England will make up their minds to try the experiment, there will be little heard in future about the cost of labour and the dearness of labour, and less about Coolie immigration."

This we hold to be sound advice.

The following extract from the *St. Lucia Independent* will show that the resident planters are fully alive to the movements of those also in London, who dignify themselves with the appellation of "The West Indian Interest":—

"The Colonial Bank party and their allies, the money brokers in the city, are leaving no stone unturned to induce the Government to guarantee the Immigration Loan, as it is called, with which they are speculating to make a good job. If they succeed, they will, as the first fruits of the measure, place their money advantageously—in the second place they will manage to get the lion's share of the 25*l.* per head, which it is calculated these Coolie labourers are to cost the tax payers in those colonies which are to be *favoured* with being admitted to participate in the right of purchasing their five years of service—and lastly, though evidently not the least important of their gains,—those of these London speculators who are West India merchants, are also holders of West India estates, which they have got possession of by 'selling up' the unfortunate planters whom they have drawn into their meshes, by advances made at a rate of some fifteen to eighteen per cent.

"We are glad, however, to find that the *resident* planters and inhabitants of these Colonies generally are beginning to discover that this *soi-disant* West India interest, embodied in a set of selfish, grasping traders in London, is an interest quite distinct from that of the real West India colonists.

"Jamaica, the colony proposed to be most extensively *favoured* by these Coolie settlers, shows symptoms of declining to deal on the terms offered. The House of Assembly newly elected is not expected to vote the Ways and Means.

"From our extracts from the Demerara papers our readers will see how the question stands there. It is true the Colonial Bank commands the majority of the Court of Policy—their agent one of the Court—and therefore the Legislature have voted away the public monies;—but the seeds of disunion are sown, and it is quite clear when they come to discuss the 'laying on the taxes' on the sugar and coffee, the whole project will fall through.

"Messrs. Cavans and Marryats, who stand, in respect to this colony, precisely in the position we have above described, namely, possessing unprofitable estates which they have taken from their luckless debtors, have put themselves forward to petition Lord Stanley to allow them to tax the inhabitants of St. Lucia to buy Hill Coolies for their sugar estates. When we say these persons have petitioned to be allowed to tax the inhabitants, we state this advisedly; for it is well known here, that, if the question can now be brought before the legislative council, it will come to be decided wholly by persons who are the debtors or dependents of these two houses. We, however, have no fears on the ultimate result. Parliament will not trust the small islands; and Lord Stanley has nullified the absurd project of buying labourers at twenty-five pounds per head, by calling on the planters to pay for their own whistle."

"We have not yet seen what the Trinidadians have done in the matter; but their legislative council is so nearly composed like our own, of agents of banks and London houses, that we expect, as far as the local legislature can act, they will also squander the public money."

A strong feeling of opposition is beginning to manifest itself in British Guiana and Trinidad against votes and loans for immigration purposes. We know that memorials from the former colony are already pouring into the Colonial Office on the subject, and that they will be followed by more. Trinidad, we fear, has not strength enough to make itself heard at home. Nevertheless, we think it should make an effort to throw off the incubus which rests upon it. Our advice is, up and be doing.

THE American papers contain an account of an important legal decision pronounced by Chief Justice Shaw, at Boston, in the case of Robert T. Lucas, to the effect that a slave serving on board a vessel of the United States is entitled to his discharge the moment the vessel passes without the slave-limits of the country. This decision greatly enlarges all previous decisions in similar cases, and may be regarded as limiting the claim of the master strictly to the case of a fugitive. We must reserve the particulars for our next.

THE Record of Monday last contains a letter from Thomas Clarkson "to such professing Christians in the northern states of America as have had no practical concern with slaveholding, and have never sanctioned it by defending it; and to such also as have never visited the southern states." It is highly characteristic and valuable. Its length prevents our insertion of it in the present number; but we shall do our best to find room for it hereafter.

WE insert, for more general information, the new tariff of sugar duties, which came into operation on the 10th instant. In the newspaper controversy which is carried on respecting it, we see that a distinction is taken by a ministerial paper between *slaveholding* countries and *slave-importing* ones; or, between slavery and the slave-trade. We take the opportunity of repeating, that we cannot adopt this distinction. Our efforts always have been, and still must be, directed towards the universal extinction of slavery itself, which is, in truth, the parent of the slave-trade, and which, if it were not so, would still be a crying act of injustice, and an intolerable source of suffering and crime.

We have deprecated from the first the encouragement given by the financial measures of Government to the coffee of Brazil, which we see no reason for distinguishing from the sugar. Our wish is for the discouragement in any form of slave-labour.

#### SLAVERY IN ALGERIA.

We have received a copy of the *Annales de l'Institut d'Afrique*, containing the letter of Marshal Bugeaud, together with some remarks in reply, apparently from the editor of that journal. We place both these documents on record.

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF ALGERIA TO M. LE DUC DE MONTMORENCI, PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION.

*Algiers, Oct. 4.*

Monsieur le Duc,—I have received the letter you did me the honour to write, for the purpose of inducing me to abolish in Algeria the sale of men, now that we have subdued the country.

Undoubtedly, it is after the sanguinary contests of the field, after victory—"that should come the serious attention required by afflicted humanity."

I agree with you on this point; the only essential difference I have with you is, as to the fitness of the moment (*l'opportunité*).

Has the moment come for forbidding to the Arabs the trade in negroes? Would such a measure be good policy? Is it true that I would serve the interests of humanity, with respect to the negroes, in preventing that trade in Algeria? These, M. le Duc, are questions that I have fully considered, before and after reading your letter.

On the first point; I do not think that we have ruled the Arabs long enough to be able safely to adopt a measure which would so seriously affect their interests. The administrative system of the Arabs is far, Dieu merci! from resembling that of France; had we modelled it on the latter, we should have a heavy army of functionaries, and consequently a heavy budget, which Africa could not support, and the mother country would not vote. Yet nothing less would suffice than the array of French administration, with its many functionaries, its police, its gendarmes, to give the least hope of making effective the measure which in the name of humanity you ask for.

Do you wish to know the administrative and governmental system of the Arabs? It is this; at the head of affairs is the general officer commanding the province or subdivision, assisted by an officer entrusted with the Arab affairs (charge des affaires Arabes); then comes the Aga, commanding several tribes; then the Kaid, the chief of a tribe; then comes the Sheikh, chief of a part of a tribe. The Aga alone is paid; the Kaid and the Sheikh have no other emolument than a small share of the taxes and fines.

Behold, M. le Duc, the whole Arab government. It has neither gendarmes, police, nor custom-house officers; for I do not consider as belonging to the Arab government the French custom-house officers whom we have upon the coast.

This government, simple, cheap, and purely military, answers entirely our existing wants. By it we raise without difficulty the taxes. We make the roads safe by enforcing the responsibility of the tribes, an institution of the government of the Turks and of Abd-el-Kader which we have maintained. We procure the arrest of criminals; the cavalry of the tribes marches with us when we require it; and we are supplied on our demand, and at the tariff prices (*au prix du tarif*), with beasts of burden to carry provisions for our columns or to our posts.

It would be impossible to require of such a government the vigilant attention which would be necessary to prevent the arrival of negroes by the desert caravans, and their sale in the markets of Algeria; for that would be needful more than the army of greater and lesser functionaries which you have in France. And for such a force where, I ask you, should we get the money? Must we extort it from those subject to French taxation? (*aux contribuables Français?*) You would be cruel to them in your attempt to be humane to the negroes.

You see then, that, on the score of expense alone, the measure is at present impracticable.

But even at great expense would one succeed? Remember, M. le Duc, that in spite of the efforts of two great nations, France and England, the trade in slaves is not much diminished, and is much more cruel. How would you defend against the trade the lines of the desert (250 leagues), of the eastern frontier (about 130 leagues), of the western frontier (about 130 leagues), in all 510 leagues of frontier to be watched to prevent the introduction of negroes. As that is impossible, we must watch the markets of the interior, which, on so large a surface, is not more easy than the other course. And were the markets watched, the negroes would be sold one by one among the tribes. You see that there would be a wilderness of obstacles to the execution of the resolution (*une dedale de difficultés dans l'exécution de l'arrêté*).

Would the measure be politic while our authority is of such recent date, with a people still furious at having been compelled to submit to the yoke? Have we not enough causes of contest without wantonly (*de gaité de cœur*) giving this? It would be one of the most excitable causes of rebellion; for the Arab especially insists (*tient infiniment*) on having negroes; and if on this account arose a rebellion, as I think infallibly would, who would bear the consequences? Your soldiers, children of France—your treasures. You would make your fellow-citizens pay dearly indeed for your feelings of inopportune humanity.

Look to the southern states of America (United States?) Has it been possible to make them renounce slavery? Has not the central government given way from fear of a rebellion and a separation? And yet you would forthwith impose on the Arabs the immense hardship of not having negroes to help them in cultivation, and even negresses to marry, for they often marry them. Recollect, M. le Duc, that the Koran allows holding slaves, but orders that they be treated like the children of the tent. The Arabs are rarely inattentive to this order. The negro and negress are, in a certain way, of the family; they are treated in every respect as though they were; and there is nothing more unusual than to see an Arab ill-use his slaves. Such a fact is a reply in itself to the question of humanity. I am convinced that it is happier for the Arabs of the Soudan, who from any cause fall into slavery, to be sold to the Arabs of the Tell and of the Little Desert, than to remain in the hands of the enemy who has seized them. I must add, that the Arabs very often give liberty to their slaves. Such is the case after a certain number of years of faithful service, or on the death of the head or any important member of the tent.

You perceive, M. le Duc, that, when one sees things from afar, from one point of view, and under the influence of a feeling in itself very praiseworthy, one is exposed to fall into error as to the opportunity and advantage of applying one's theory to such and such a country.

Let us beware of trying on Algeria experiments of all the theories that are hatched in the brains of every Frenchman (*qui bouillent dans les cervaeaux de France*). We might be severely punished for our sentimental levity; the philanthropy we would practise in Algeria might become cruelty to France. Her people and her money would be required to repair the mistakes of her philanthropists. Let us first attend to the interests of our country, and afterwards do all possible for philanthropy.

To relieve as much as I can the fears of your humanity, I will tell you that there are no public markets of slaves at Bona, Oran, or Algiers; all dealings are by single transactions in the interior of the tribes, far from our eyes and our inspection. Besides, the number of slaves brought into Algeria is inconsiderable, as they are not employed in agriculture; they are employed in household and domestic duties, and, notwithstanding their small numbers, to suppress them would be a great subject of discontent with the Arab chiefs. Moreover, the question of compensation would arise here as well as in the case of our colonies; and you well know whether or not *that* is easily settled. Accept, M. le Duc, the assurance of my high consideration.

The Governor General,  
Marshal BUGEAUD.

P.S.—I had forgotten one argument.

We wish to open commercial relations with the interior of Africa. Can we do so, by taking from the inhabitants of that distant land a branch of their trade?

#### ONE WORD TO MARSHAL BUGEAUD.

MARSHAL.—In the letter which we had the honour to write to you relative to the abolition of the slave-trade, we proposed to ourselves simply to draw your attention to a measure, the adoption of which appeared to us to involve no inconvenience. You have thought proper not to reply directly to this question. You have enlarged it considerably, and have carried it beyond the small circle within which we had circumscribed it, into a larger one, where it is necessary for us to follow you.

You put to us three questions, to which you have had the goodness to give answers in which we cannot concur. We shall reply in order to these three questions, in order to throw upon our opposing sentiments sufficient light for ascertaining on which side reason, truth, and sound policy (which cannot exist without these powerful auxiliaries) are to be found.

*Is the moment arrived for interdicting to the Arabs the purchase and sale of negroes?*

Undoubtedly. From the moment that civilization has thrown the light of her torch on a barbarous country, it is beyond question that so odious a system ought immediately to disappear. We do not see how this measure can be so gravely injurious to the interests of the Arabs. In order to render this measure effectual, you think it necessary to call to your aid an entire army of functionaries, and, by consequence, an enormous budget, which France could not sustain; and for this purpose you require the intervention of the police, of douaniers and gens d'armes, whom you raise up, in our opinion, without the least necessity. It is not by an exhibition of impossible energies, that we wish to prevent the arrival of negroes by the caravans from the desert, and their sale on the frontiers of Africa. Much rather would we desire that they should enter this region in crowds at every possible point; and we would facilitate their entrance by the proclamation of one single word, the abolition of slavery! This pacific invasion of blacks would revive the interior commerce of Africa, which, under the sway of the Romans, raised many cities to a high degree of splendour. The advance of the arts, and the benefits of European civilization, would go, by these channels, to expand themselves in the very centre of this unhappy continent, to abolish the inhuman traffic in men, and perhaps to effect, in the social condition of a revolution as nations, important as that which was occasioned in Europe by the discovery and civilization of America.

*But would not this measure be adverse to the success of a well-considered policy?*

If we cast our eyes on two recent facts connected with this great measure, we shall see that England has not been afraid to restore liberty to millions of persons; and that, in circumstances more nearly resembling those of our African colony, the Bey of Tunis has followed this generous example: and it is matter of public notoriety that, far from occasioning the least inconvenience, it has produced the most signal advantages for the countries which have adopted it. The abolition of the slave-trade, wherever it may be effected, can never be contrary to a humane and enlightened policy. Let us give liberty to the negroes, let them have their piece of land and their cottage in freehold possession; let them be raised to an understanding of moral duties; and they will be convinced that their happiness lies in industry and order. They will then take an interest in the welfare of the country, and will love the government which protects them. The abolition of slavery would do no injury, either to the Arabs or to agriculture. It would render the colony more flourishing, and increase trade. It would do no other mischief than preventing some men from fattening on the blood and sweat of their brethren. In a word, the great majority would gain by it, although some individuals might lose the melancholy opportunity of committing with impunity a crime conducive to their interest. Incredible! The governors of Africa are busy about everything—*except the Africans!* Nevertheless, these men, whom, in all the colonies, they covet so eagerly for slaves, on account of the qualities of every kind with which nature has endowed them, ought to be the first auxiliaries of colonization. Does not the history of this unfortunate race teach us that the negroes are cultivators of the soil, faithful and devoted servants, brave soldiers, intrepid sailors, eminent philosophers, and original poets? The abolition of the slave-trade ought to be effected, not merely on the coast, but in the interior of Africa.

We seriously think that this simple statement will be sufficient to lead you, Marshal, in a short time, to an opinion which acquires indisputable

value from the facts on which it rests. It is high time to quit the track of former ages. At the present moment, we firmly believe that the Arabs would have more to gain by a state of perfect equality with respect to the negroes, than the negroes with respect to the Arabs, who are no longer such as raised the noble monuments of Spain, and came to disquiet us on the borders of Provence. Immovable in defence of the eternal principles of justice, we shall not cease to repeat—Every man, whatever be his race, or his colour, has a right to the protection of the laws, and the free disposal of his person and his labour. To hold a man in slavery, to buy him, to sell him, to compel him to labour, these are unquestionable crimes, and crimes worse than robbery. Let slaves be emancipated, wherever one creature of God belongs to another, instead of belonging to the human race and to the law.

Slavery has some sophistical reasoners for defenders: for adversaries, it has all men of true wisdom, of all ages and countries. In a word, we say, with Burke, "To trade, not with the labour of men, but with men themselves, is to devour the root of human industry, instead of eating its fruits."

#### Literary Notice.

*Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Annual Report for 1844, with an Introduction on Slavery and the Slave-trade, and an Appendix containing an account of the death of Placido, the Cuban poet.*

WITH so long a title (which, after all, does not tell the whole of the contents), this is a duodecimo tract of only twenty pages. The Introduction, which relates to slavery and the slave-trade, consists of four pages, and presents a well-compacted summary of the subject. Then comes an account of the Annual Meeting of the Society, reprinted from the *Pilot*; after this the Report of the Committee; and, finally, a narrative of the death of Placido, with a metrical version by Mr. Wiffen of the poem which he composed in his last hours. The whole constitutes an excellent anti-slavery tract, and may be widely distributed with advantage.

#### Colonial Intelligence.

*ST. LUCIA.*—Four young lads, slaves, taking advantage of a *fête* at Fort-Royal, Martinique, in the beginning of the week, embarked in a small canoe of about six feet long, and succeeded in effecting a landing at Soufrière, in this island, on Tuesday last (August 27). They state that they were seen by several of the custom-house boats at Martinique, but, imagining that they were going to the *fête* at Fort-Royal, they allowed them to pass, and thus four more slaves have successfully gained their liberty.—*Independent Press*.

*BRITISH GUIANA.*—The following extracts from our private letters will show the state of feeling existing in this colony in regard to the Immigration Loan and Civil List ordinances. "Fearn, Sept. 23, 1844.—The attempt to force the ordinances upon us in a more aggravated form will be successful, unless every nerve is strained to defeat it. The interests of all classes are involved, and I believe that all will be injured if these oppressive laws are allowed to pass. We have had a meeting on the subject at Fearn. All parties were invited. The planters were informed that they would have full liberty to address the meeting, and to lay before it any statements which they wished. Two of them attended. They declined discussing the most objectionable parts of the bills with us, candidly admitting that we had the better side of the argument. The other points of discussion were fairly debated, and though I had never canvassed the subjects in the hearing of the labourers, they were as ready as the friends who had appeared on their behalf to take part in the controversy, and I certainly think that they had the advantage of their opponents. The meeting agreed to a memorial to Lord Stanley. We did not memorialise our local legislature, because we have no reason to expect that it will do us justice. I grieve to say it—but it is the truth, and must be told." Of a written speech which was brought to this meeting by a planter who had not courage to read it, our correspondent says—"This planter shows very clearly that the distress of the planting body is fairly attributable to their own imprudence; and I will add, that I do not believe that they will ever recover from it until they change their policy. Immigration, even if they had it on their own terms, is not the panacea for the ills of which they complain. The speech concludes with an appeal to ministers to consider the religious advantages held out to immigrants. But, alas! their experience of disappointment in seeking the salvation of the immigrants renders many of them deaf to this appeal. It is the policy of some to keep out, while they profess to admit, faithful ministers. Of the Coolies who visited our shores I do not know that one received any religious benefit. I might say the same of the Portuguese. In only one or two instances have any but state-paid ministers ready access to the Africans. Any one may go to an estate to hold meetings and give instruction; but, if the manager is unfriendly he may go without being able to get the immigrants together, and often on a sugar estate they are kept at work until a late hour of the night. They only come to the West Indies to add European to African vices. One missionary sent among them in their native land would do more for them than all the ministers in Berbice have done in this colony."

"Georgetown, Demerara, Oct. 4, 1844.—Since the date of my last we have endeavoured as far as in our power to frustrate the counsels of those who, by their unrighteous and impolitic measures, would, to serve the selfish purposes of a few, plunge this colony into ruinous debt and difficulty. I trust the efforts of the friends of truth and liberty will not be in vain, and that the serious evils which threaten the inhabitants of this province will be mercifully averted by Him who ruleth in all the earth."

*IMMIGRATION OF LABOURERS.*—The *Arabian*, immigration bark, arrived yesterday morning, with the large number of 223 immigrants on board, after the long passage of fifty-one days from Sierra Leone.—*Royal Gazette*.

**Foreign Intelligence.**

**UNITED STATES.—PROGRESS OF THE CAUSE.**—Extract of a letter from the Rev. J. W. C. Pennington to Thomas Clarkson, dated Hartford, Connecticut, Sept. 25th, 1844.—“I fully accord with Mr. Whittier, and confirm his statement ‘that our cause never went on so rapidly.’ As evidence of this, I will specify, First,—That very few fugitive slaves are now taken up in the free States, although they run away in increasing numbers every day. Second,—The churches are becoming deeply ashamed of their conduct, and are beginning to treat coloured ministers and Christians differently. Since my return from England I have preached in ten or twelve pulpits of white ministers, by invitation or exchange, which were not open before to ministers of my colour. They heard how ministers received me in England, and it has affected them. Third,—Abolitionists are very rapidly increasing in political influence. They have completely foiled the slaveholders in their project of annexing Texas. When Congress assembled last fall, the matter was in the hands of the general government, and it was expected on all hands that it would be carried; but, notwithstanding the President strongly recommended it, and had the treaty of annexation all ready, it was defeated, and now it is in the hands of the people. Mr. Clay, the Whig candidate for President, is in favour of annexation with the consent of Mexico. Mr. Polk, the Democratic candidate, is in favour of it if a majority of the people of the United States are. So that this question will be decided at the next general election. The abolitionists have no hope of electing Mr. Birney; but they will certainly come near enough to it to affect both of the other parties, and they will without doubt decide the fate of one of them. It is very generally believed that, if the Whigs lose the election, it will be owing to the fact that a large number of votes have been withdrawn from the party by the abolitionists. It is certain that the Whigs lost all popular support in Connecticut last spring by the largeness of the abolition vote. Fourth,—The influence of abolition has also greatly increased in what are called voluntary institutions, colleges, education societies, and missionary boards. Many who used to contribute thousands of dollars to these institutions now withhold their money; and this has produced a widely-extended sensation. The Union Missionary Society, of which I have the high honour to be president, has drawn, within a short time, several thousand dollars from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions on account of its connection with slavery, and our funds are rapidly increasing. In some cases individuals who used to give one, two, and three hundred dollars annually to this Board, now give to our society. Fifth,—My dear coloured brethren are rapidly improving in moral character. Every month I have to attend large conventions, where the objects are to devise ways and means to improve them. On the 5th day of August I attended a Temperance Convention at Catskill, New York state, where 5,000 coloured people met to advance the cause of temperance; on the 4th day of this month, we held a large temperance meeting at Norwich, in this state; and yesterday there was another in Pittsfield, in the state of Massachusetts.”

Extract of a letter from Lewis Tappan to Joseph Sturge, dated New York, Oct. 11, 1844.—“As the Whig party have taken ground against the Democratic party, among other points, on the Texas question, the doctrines of the Anti-Slavery Society are now pretty fully discussed in the newspapers, and at ‘mass’ meetings, as we call our monster meetings. This will have a good effect. The Liberty party is daily increasing, the accessions being made from both the old political parties. It is very evident that it exerts much influence in the country. If Mr. Polk should be elected President, the whole Whig party will be arrayed against him on the Texas question, as well as on other questions, and part of his own party will not go with him for the extension of slavery. This will, we think, prevent the extension of slavery. But if Mr. Clay should be elected, we fear that his great talents, his love of compromising important questions, and his policy, will induce him to admit Texas in a way seemingly to be with the consent of a majority of the people. We are afraid of him as a Napoleon in intrigue and management. Polk is an honest, straightforward, out and out defender of slavery, anywhere and everywhere; is for the annexation of Texas at all events, and for aquiring the territory of Oregon on the Pacific ocean, whether Great Britain consents or not.”

**CUBA.**—The circular of Mr. Frederick Scheer, of Havana, for the 10th of October ultimo, states that it is their painful duty to report that the prospects for the next sugar crop were rendered infinitely worse than before, by the late dreadful hurricane which visited that island. Mr. Scheer says it was difficult to form an estimate of the vast amount of property destroyed, or of the probable influence of the calamity on the quantity of sugar next season. The most moderate calculation was that the crop will be deficient at least one-half. The cane that is most forward has suffered most, having been snapped assunder, while the young cane bent before the storm; many of the estates will not grind at all. In Matanzas, a great part of the little stock of sugars remaining had perished, as the water penetrated into the warehouses and even rose several feet. The damage suffered on the south side of the island seems, if possible, to have been still greater than on the north side. When we reflect on the immense loss of property which the planters have experienced, it appears certain that a great many of them will be unable to maintain the cultivation of their estates unless they have a loan from Government. If this cannot be obtained, the future prospects of the island are, they say, very gloomy, as the want of confidence which such a calamity must unavoidably bring will prevent adequate assistance being furnished from other sources. Mr. Scheer states, that they may now expect that planters will retain the remaining stock of this year’s sugars with a firm hand, and that little or no business will be done for some time to come. They will naturally anticipate that the news will occasion a considerable advance of prices in Europe, particularly if the calamity should have extended to other West India islands.—*Morning Chronicle.*

**GUADELOUPE.**—Private letters received from Guadeloupe assert, that incendiarism has begun to manifest itself, in certain districts. No less than fourteen fires have recently broken out, and the greatest alarm, not to say terror, prevails. Fire is a terrible weapon in the hands

of the oppressed. How wise as well as humane it would be, to terminate the system of slavery which exists there, before the dreaded evil more widely spreads, bringing desolation and death in its train.

**MARTINIQUE.**—The *St. Kitt's Advertiser* intimates that news had been received in that island that a revolt of the slave population of Martinique was daily expected. That they are in a state of dangerous excitement we can well believe. They have been taught, for several years past that emancipation would be secured to them at no distant day, and yet the period of freedom seems no nearer than when they were first taught to expect it. We learn through the ordinary channels, that two packets of anti-slavery publications, have been detained by the Government of the island. Surely every liberal man in France must feel indignant that light should thus be shut out from the minds of those that require it.

**SPAIN.—MADRID,** Oct. 30, 1844.—The Cuba slave-trade question has been adverted to (in the Cortes). It is due to the Marquis of Viluma to say here, that he appears to have acted in a straightforward and honourable manner, during his tenure of office, in endeavouring to put down the traffic, and to give effect to the long-neglected treaties between England and Spain on the subject. He stated frankly on this occasion, that he had given our Government strong grounds for expecting that the treaty would be carried into effect, and had addressed the other ministers on the subject, that they might enjoin on all the authorities of Cuba the strict observance of the treaty. He added that, learning that the project of a new penal law had been prepared, he had caused it to be sent to him, and that his opinion was that the Government was authorised to carry it into effect at once in the colonies, since the latter were governed by particular laws. Senor Pacheco said the Government alone could not make laws, and alluded to Lord Aberdeen’s declaration of his having obtained a new penal law from the Spanish Government, which Senor Martinez de la Rosa said was a mistake; that no new penal law had been given, but that particular instructions had been sent to the colonies, while Viluma was minister, and that the Government was aware of the necessity of making a new law, in accordance with the obligations contracted by the treaty, although it would always endeavour to bear in mind what was necessary for the security of those possessions. The matter terminated by Senor Pacheco expressing his satisfaction that no penal law had been given, and repeating, that, whatever might be the opinion of the Marquis of Viluma, a “law” could only be made by the Crown and Parliament together, and he therefore begged it to be particularly written down, that the British minister had committed a mistake.—*Correspondent of the Morning Chronicle.*

**Miscellanea.**

**SUGAR DUTIES.**—On the 10th inst. the following duties of Customs on the importation of sugar will come into operation, under the Act of last session (7 and 8 Vic., c. 28):—

	£ s. d.
Brown, or Muscovado, or clayed sugar, not refined, the cwt.	3 3 0
The growth of any British possession in America, and imported from thence, the cwt.	1 4 0
The growth of any British possession within the limits of the East India Company’s charter, into which the importation of foreign sugar is prohibited, and imported from thence, the cwt.	1 4 0
The growth of other British possessions within those limits, and imported from thence, the cwt.	1 12 0
And on sugar which shall be certified, as hereinafter is mentioned, to be the growth of China, Java, or Manilla, or of any other foreign country, the sugar of which her Majesty in Council shall have declared, in manner hereinafter mentioned, to be admissible, as not being the produce of slave labour, and which shall be imported into the United Kingdom, either from the country of its growth or from some British possession, having first been imported into such British possession from the country of its growth, the following duties, namely:	
Brown, Muscovado, or clayed, the cwt.	1 14 6
Molasses.	1 3 9
The produce of and imported from any British possession, the cwt.	0 9 0
Sugar refined, the cwt.	8 8 0
Candy, brown, the cwt.	5 12 0
Candy, white, the cwt.	8 8 0
And so in proportion for any greater or less quantity than one hundred weight, together with an additional duty of five per cent. on such aforesaid rates of duty.	

**THE LATE DR. CAREY ON SLAVERY.**—Extract of a letter from Dr. Carey, of Serampore, to Dr. Rogers, of Philadelphia, dated January 9th, 1801:—“I was much shocked at seeing, in some of the American newspapers, advertisements headed by

**‘TO BE SOLD, A NEGRO MAN,’ &c.**

I hope no Christian keeps a slave. If this *should* be the practice (for custom often blinds the eyes even of good men) in the southern parts of the United States, it will not be difficult to answer the inquiry in a certain Association letter you sent me, *why the churches in those parts are in so languishing a state?* But I hope every one who names the name of Christ, departs from the iniquity of holding their fellow-creatures in slavery; and that it is the practice of those only who are *enemies* to the ways of God.”—*Rippon’s Register*, 1801—1802, pp. 810, 811.

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Wednesday, November 13, 1844.